592

/For information on the composition of Sarakatsani households, see category 596./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

683 Sometimes, however, the identity of a scandalmonger becomes
156 known. John went to another village to catch a glimpse of the
577 daughter of George Carvounis whom he was considering as a
584 possible bride for his younger brother Demetrios. In the coffee-shop he casually mentioned the girl's name to Michael Goulas who, perhaps guessing the direction of the visitor's interest, told him that the girl was round-shouldered and absent-minded. At first John accepted this statement and without further delay returned to his home: but later he was persuaded by the marriage negotiator that he had been deceived, and after a further visit the marriage contract was eventually arranged. Goulas is relatively prosperous but already had a reputation for meanness and taciturnity. Even before this incident he was an infrequent visitor to the coffee-shop where he was careful to avoid any large gathering in whose company he might have to spend money. Meanness, envy, and unsociability form a pattern of qualities related in Sarakatsan thinking to evil and dishonour. The unsociable man is so because he has something to hide, he hides what he lacks, and what he lacks makes him envious of others. Meanness follows naturally upon envy. Had the poison of his scandal been effective, the crime of Goulas would probably never have become known. In the event, he was condemned and avoided by those who accepted John's version of the incident, and people did not hesitate to describe him as a man without honour (ἄτιμος).

It follows that an honourable man, when he covertly glimpses a prospective bride, is careful never to disclose, except to trusted kinsmen, the true purpose of his visit. For if he decides not to ask for the girl's hand, and this fact becomes public knowledge, people will wonder what flaw he sees in the girl's character and qualities. More generally, it is evil to spread any false scandal which may provoke insult, and response to insult, between other men, and may lead to killings and orphans.

592 The hut or house is inviolable. No stranger may invade it
579 without an invitation. Similarly, whatever takes place within
689 the sanctuary of its walls is private and sacred to the members of the family. This understanding makes possible the warmth, affection, and easy intercourse of family life secluded from the public gaze. It is a sin, and a source of the greatest shame, if a man is caught with his ear to the wall of his neighbour's house

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

or hut. It is, nevertheless, true that people are insatiably curious about the details of domestic life and relations in other families. The condemnation of eavesdropping, although ideally it points to the recognition of the right of family privacy, in practice merely places a negative sanction on one particularly blatant method of obtaining information about other people's affairs.

Men are not honourable who, possessing great physical strength, use it to tyrannize others. They are men who without cause or restraint attack others with insults, using their mothers' or sisters' names in offensive sexual contexts or uttering other provocative blasphemies. Such a man, it is believed, purposely stages an incident to humiliate another who must either lose honour by not responding, or suffer a physical beating. It is accepted that, in most instances, to insult another is neither avoidable nor dishonourable. A sheep strays across a boundary, another shepherd stones it, its owner insults him, blows are exchanged. This sequence of events is to be expected in a community where the interests of different families conflict and each man must maintain his self-regard and the honour of the family. But wanton and unprovoked outrage is evil.

There are, also, categories of persons whom it is always dishonourable for a man to assault: women, old men, young boys, and children, persons weaker than himself. A man who interferes with women, or picks a quarrel with an old man or a young boy, quickly loses his social reputation. It sometimes occurs that, when grazing land is disputed, a family will send its sheep under the guard of a young shepherd boy into the disputed area, knowing that the other shepherd will not improve his case with the community, the villagers, or the police, if he strikes the youth. However, this is a dangerous tactic since, if the young shepherd is struck, honour demands retaliation.

There is one other category of persons that a man must not exploit, the very poor. Whereas a Sarakatsanos will not hesitate to trick or deceive other men, it is not honourable to take advantage of a very poor man with only twenty or thirty animals, particularly if he has a young family. It is the very fact of his dependence on the generosity and forbearance of those of greater power and prestige that morally prevents them from exploiting him. In the face of the implicit admission of his failure in life they cannot press home their advantage. Since

APPENDIX I

THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1955

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas* or Leader of the unit	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
†1.													
Constantine Tangas		Tsel.	3	2	1	—	1	7	2	325	40	365	Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights
Vasili		Br.	4	1	—	—	0	5	4	282	40	322	
Demetrios		Br.	1	3	—	—	2	6	2	229	30	259	
Evangelos		Br.	2	5	—	—	2	9	1	171	30	201	The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer
George		Br.	4	7	—	—	0	11	11	255	50	305	
John Vangelis		Sis.Hus.	4	4	—	—	1	9	5	298	40	338	
George Makris		Sis.Son	3	4	—	—	6	13	2	353	30	383	
Miltiades Kallis		Br.Wi.Sis.Hus.	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	40	15	55	
			22					66				2228	

* In this table I reserve the term Tselingas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.
† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
TA 3577
1602
2332
4421
5574
6026

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

162
233
428
494
592
602

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of house-hold to Tselingas or Leader of the stani	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
2.													
George Zyros	2	Tsel.	3	3	—	—	1	9	2	335	0	335	Winter grazing: Nea Kerasounda. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ Miltiades Loutsaris		Mo.Br.Son	2	2	—	—	1	5	1	100	10	110	
Costas Sultanos		Fa.Br.D.Hus.	1	2	—	2	2	7	1	45	0	45	
			6					21				310	
3.													
Grigory Kapialis	3	Tsel.	3	7	2	—	6	20	12	405	70	475	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small property with olive trees. Have right to graze on village common land
‡ John		Fa.Br.Son	2	4	—	—	0	6	3	160	20	180	
			7					26				655	
4.													
Vasili Charis		Tsel.	1	1	—	—	4	6	3	320	0	320	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property for grazing. The families of Kakos and Konakis remain with the stani winter and summer
Michael		Br.	1	1	—	—	2	4	3	200	30	230	
Spiros Kakos		Unrelated hired	3	1	—	—	5	9	1	40	10	50	
Costas Konakis		Shepherds	2	3	—	—	1	6	1	40	0	40	
			7					25				640	

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

5.												
‡ Const. Gogolos		Tsel.	2	2	—	—	4	8	3	160	20	180	Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ John		Br.	1	1	—	—	0	2	4	170	20	190	
‡ Thomas		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	150	10	160	
‡ Throcharis		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	2	5	3	170	25	195	
Michael Detsikas		Sis.Hus.	4	2	—	—	3	9	4	215	60	275	Detsikas and Chaskis graze their flocks separately in the summer
Alec Chaskis	2	§	2	3	—	—	5	10	3	100	30	130	
			11					40				1190	
6.													
Evangelos Karageorgis		Tsel.	3	2	—	—	0	5	2	220	30	250	Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary possession of abandoned Muslim pasture
Athanasios		Br.	2	2	—	—	3	7	2	177	20	197	
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	1	3	2	140	50	190	
Demetrios		Br.	1	1	—	—	3	5	2	167	30	197	
Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried)			0	1	—	—	0	1	0	0	60	60	This woman lives alone under the stani's protection
			7					21				894	
7.													
Theodoros Myriounis	5	Tsel.	5	5	—	—	7	17	6	396	80	476	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land now leased to them by the villagers after a compulsory Government order. Raftis grazes separately in the summer
‡ Sotiri		Fa.Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	90	110	
Pericles		Fa.Br.Son	2	3	—	—	3	8	2	155	15	170	
Theodoros Raftis		Hus. of Mo. first cousin	3	5	—	—	0	8	4	162	120	282	
			11					38				1038	
8.													
Demetrios Paparounas	4	Tsel.	5	4	—	—	10	19	9	530	60	590	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers
Photios Gogolos		Sis.Hus.	1	1	—	—	5	7	1	50	0	50	
			6					26				640	

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chaskis' sister)

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
E.359
162
233
420
424
592
602

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
1962
233
444
569
602
[p.210]

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if so extended household)	Relation of Head of house-hold to Tselingas or Leader of the unit	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Were shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes re Location of Winter pasture, etc.
9.													
Christos Arvanitis	3	Tsel.	4	4	—	—	5	13	7	430	60	490	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his flocks separately in the summer
Evangelos Katris		Mo.Sis.Hus.	2	3	—	—	0	5	4	90	100	190	
			6					18				680	
10.													
Dionysios Barkas		Leader	4	1	—	—	0	5	5	190	70	260	Winter grazing: Mourton. Fallow land rented from villagers
Spiros Arvanitis		Fa.-in-law	0	2	—	—	3	5	0	3	60	65	
			4					10				325	
11.													
Demetrios Paschos		Leader	2	2	—	2	0	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta, fallow land rented from villagers
Lambros		Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	25	45	
Demetrios Theodorakis		Wi.Br.	1	2	—	1	0	4	7	98	30	128	Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer
			4					15				313	
12.													
Evangelos Loutharis		Leader	2	2	1	—	1	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	4	6	2	140	0	140	
			3					12				280	

13. George Kapsalis	2	—	3	3	—	—	0	6	3	180	0	180	Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers
			3					6				180	
14. George Chariss	2	—	3	3	—	—	3	9	5	110	60	170	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers
			3					9				170	
15. Demetrios Dethikas		—	1	2	—	1	—	4	1	54	0	54	Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager
			1					4				54	
16. Theodoros Arvanitis		—	1	2	—	—	2	5	1	80	15	95	Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock
			1					5				95	
17. Demetrios Ladias		—	2	4	—	—	1	7	1	30	10	40	Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager
			2					7				40	
18. Spiridon Carvounis		-	2	2	—	—	1	5	2	85	20	105	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land
			2					5				105	

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

[E-361]
162
233
H25
H6h
Sar
202

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
512 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

342
354

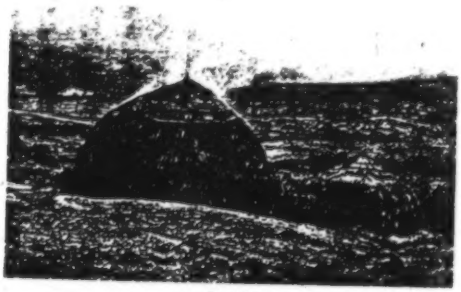

Fig. 78

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

[Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

We saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, blackened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

"The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt, for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.